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China

STUDENTS AND THE WORLD CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY

THE SINO-JAPANESE CONFLICT

Discussion Outline

by

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Meditation

by

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# STUDENTS AND THE WORLD CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY

## What About the Conflict in China?

### I. INTRODUCTION

This is a discussion outline designed to help members of a Student Christian organization to think more deeply and act more wisely in regard to the war in China.

A warning: it is possible to escape responsibility and paralyze ourselves through too much discussion and too exhaustive fact finding.

It is also possible to act so hastily that we fail to foresee the results of our actions and thus help bring to pass the very things we sought to avoid.

#### Criteria for action

Between these two alternatives, we must find a better way. This we can try to do in the light of our convictions and presuppositions as members of a Christian community. In this community we find Japanese as well as Chinese. All Christians have reference to similar criteria for action. How can these help us? What effect will the action we advocate have on the Japanese Christian community, some of whose members oppose Japanese action in China as much as we do?

This outline should cover four periods. Relate the thinking done to periods of worship. (The material for one period of worship is attached with this outline.) Insights come through worship which are not possible through an intellectual give and take of ideas.

#### War is on

Bombing planes are dropping death and destruction over many cities in China. Word of fear and disease and wounded men, women, and children comes to us across the Pacific. Japanese men are also going to death. Wages in Japan are down, taxes are up, work-hours in Japanese factories are increased. Japanese men, women, and children too are suffering that the aims of the militarists may come true.

We're safe and those of us in colleges mostly well fed and comfortable. What responsibility do we have?

For some years the world has been dodging the problem of how to deal with the increase of national aggression by force and by the mass murder of civilian populations. In 1931 Japan went into Manchuria and took it over as a protectorate. In 1933 the treaty with Nanking gave further influence to Japan in China. In 1935 Italy went into Ethiopia and added it to her possessions without any effective restraint from the rest of the world. In 1936 Germany and Italy helped Franco in its effort to take control of part of Spain. In 1937 Japan attempts to control China. The question we all face is whether there is any end in sight or whether rather there is an increasing trend toward international lawlessness.



There are many who hope that the problems of economic inequalities may be solved by some other means than the law of the jungle. If strong nations come to a habit of seizing what they want from weaker nations by force, then what hope is there for civilization?

With the undeclared war in China we can test out what we believe to be the validity of the various courses of action we can choose or have chosen.

Every single person has already made a choice

If not consciously, then unconsciously we have already made a choice. We are or we are not buying silk stockings. If we are buying them, then we choose to support Japan economically in her war of aggression. We are or we are not writing letters to our government. If we are not, then we have cast a vote for the futility of individual citizens trying to influence their government.

Intellectual detachment from the political and social issues of the day is a vote in favor of the status quo, or even worse, of a policy of drifting. By remaining neutral or detached we have taken sides already. But a Christian cannot drift. He cannot be content with inertia. So, it is important to know the choices we have already made and the ones we might make<sup>and</sup> in the light of Christian criteria for action see if these choices should be changed.

## II. ALTERNATIVE COURSE OF ACTION

### A. Non-violent participation - the position of the absolute pacifist

The Fellowship of Reconciliation outlines "An Asiatic Policy for Christians," in its magazine Fellowship (November 1937):

"We call other Christian people to the support of such a peace policy as the following to which we commit ourselves:

1. "First, let us as American citizens never forget our own guilt in furthering militarism in Asia. Let us confess our own sins. Let us remember with sorrow Commodore Perry's naval demonstration which shattered Japan's chosen isolation in 1853, our demands along with other western nations for special privilege in Asia, the imperialistic venture to which we seized military control of the Philippines, our share in 1900 in the Allied spoliation of Peking, our gunboats and armed forces maintained ever since in Chinese waters and on Chinese soil, our refusal at Versailles to eliminate racial discrimination from the peace treaties, the disadvantage in which Japan was placed by the Washington Treaties of 1922, the racial prejudice involved in the Oriental exclusion clause of the Immigration Act of 1924, the burdens we have added to the sagging shoulders of Japanese labor by our high tariffs and to Chinese affairs by our selfish silver policy, our own share in the wrecking of the London Economic Conference and the provocative threats of our naval manoeuvres of 1935, the steady menace of our great navy now 'second to none' maintained continuously in the Pacific in recent years. Remembering these wrongs, we urge that American Christians shall use every occasion to express penitence for our share in the Asiatic war and use every possible means to rectify these wrongs."
2. "In these and other ways we have sinned. In consequence we believe that Christian love demands that we seek to remedy these wrongs by the following action:" (for full account see Fellowship November 1937 issue)
  - a. "Since America's aims in Asia are obscure, we urge that they be clarified at least to the extent that our government clearly declare at this time that we have no aggressive aims in Asia. . . ."
  - b. "To further underline our non-aggressive intentions, we ask our Christian friends to join us in working for the immediate withdrawal from China of all American military and naval forces . . . ."
  - c. "For a limited but adequate period of transition we believe that public opinion should support the indemnification of business losses incurred in order to maintain the Neutrality of the United States."
  - d. "Following invocation of the Neutrality Act and withdrawal of our warships we urge participation by our government in all peaceful means of international cooperation, such as

membership on the League of Nations committee of 21 nations and in a world economic conference for the consideration of Far Eastern problems and for the development of processes for peaceful economic change so that both Japan and China may be assured of unhindered access to raw materials and markets. We urge that our country take the initial step in renouncing extraterritoriality and concessions in China and withdrawing from all participation in the maintenance of the International Settlement in Shanghai by armed force."

- e. "We urge that our countrymen should do all in their power to rectify the economic stress which gave the excuse for military expansion through actively extending to the fullest possible extent the State Department's Trade Agreements Program to include Japan and China."
- f. "As immediate and tangible evidence of repentance for our own national sins, we support the repeal of the Asiatic exclusion clause of the Immigration Act of 1924."
- g. "We also strongly urge that all friends of peace support to the full limit of their ability measures intended for the relief of the vast war-bred suffering in both countries, including the full use of missionary channels already established."
- h. "We strongly urge all people of goodwill constantly to work to create the psychological conditions necessary for cooperation for peace without which world conferences or peace moves will surely fail. . . ."
- i. "Believing that the final peaceful settlement of the Far Eastern problem must lie with the people of Japan and China and that the fundamental issues will all remain unsolved when the war is finished, we extend to all in Japan and China who love peace and justice our fellowship and goodwill and our pledge of cooperation with them in rebuilding both nations now being despoiled by the ravages of war."

Questions about this position:

1. (a) If the U. S. shares in the guilt of Japan, then how does a citizen express that guilt in dealing with his own government? towards the press? in discussions which go to make public opinion?  
(b) Does this mean we should not seek to curb Japanese aggression?
2. How do the nine forms of action meet the test of your idea of the Christian ethic of love and the way it works?
3. Could this position be held by the members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation living in China rather than in a country not involved in the war?
4. In a moment of crisis in some part of the world when people are being killed around you by bombs and shells, is it still possible to concentrate on relief or on a long time program of peace action or must the war be stopped



first by whatever means seems likely to succeed? When a house is on fire, do we stop to consider a program for fire prevention as our first step?

5. What action do you believe Christians in China and Japan should be taking
  - (a) to protest the war?
  - (b) to endorse the war?
  - (c) to endeavor to stop the war by all military means at their command?
6. Is invocation of the Neutrality Law the most effective way for the United States to declare that it "has no aggressive aims in Asia"?
7. If the United States should withdraw all American interests from China while the war is on, who would benefit by our act, aggressor or victim?
8. In view of the fact that the poverty of her population is attributable as much to Japan's armament program as to barriers to her trade, is a program of peaceful change as recommended in Section d, complete without provision for disarmament?

## B. Mediation

The position of seeking a basis for reconciliation. There are efforts at this already.

In the Sunday Times (October 31, 1937) there was a statement of the terms Japan was said to be willing to accept:

- "1. the temporary occupation by Japan of China's five northern provinces.
2. the creation of a neutral zone about Shanghai from which Chinese troops would be excluded and in which order would be maintained by an international police force of Japanese, American, British, French, and Italian troops. Such a system would in effect extend the present control of the International Settlement to a much larger area."
3. China to agree not to possess any military air force.

In the Foreign Policy Bulletin for November 12, 1937 it is said:

"The formulation of peace terms acceptable to both China and Japan, however, remains an unsolved conundrum for both the Brussels conference and the Nazis. There seems to be little doubt that both nations, now experiencing the darker side of martial adventure, are gradually becoming weary of the conflict . . .

"Nevertheless, Japan and China are still poles apart with respect to mutually acceptable peace terms. In a statement made on November 7, Chiang Kai-shek refused to open direct negotiations with Japan under any conditions save, presumably, restoration of the status quo ante. Japan's war aims, on the other hand, are known to comprise the establishment of a thinly veiled Japanese protectorate in North China and substitution of an 'anti-communist' regime for the Nanking government. To the Chinese, who receive active support from native communists and an unknown degree of assistance from the U.S.S.R., the latter stipulation can only signify complete subservience to Tokyo in national affairs. Regarding the anti-communist crusade as a mere

cloak for imperialist aims, Nanking can scarcely look upon Hitler as an impartial mediator or welcome his intervention in the dispute. But if the Western democracies fail to attack the problem in a new and less pusillanimous spirit, China may ultimately have no recourse but to submit."

This method is stressed in the position taken by the United States government:

"This country constantly and consistently advocates maintenance of peace. We advocate national and international self-restraint. We advocate abstinence by all nations from use of force in pursuit of policy and from interference in the internal affairs of other nations. We advocate adjustment of problems in international relations by processes of peaceful negotiation and agreement. We advocate faithful observance of international agreements. Upholding the principle of the sanctity of treaties, we believe in modification of provisions of treaties, when need therefor arises, by orderly processes carried out in a spirit of mutual helpfulness and accommodation. We believe in respect by all nations for the rights of others and performance by all nations of established obligations. We stand for revitalizing and strengthening of international law. We advocate steps toward promotion of economic security and stability the world over. We advocate lowering or removing of excessive barriers in international trade. We seek effective equality of commercial opportunity and we urge upon all nations application of the principle of equality of treatment. We believe in limitation and reduction of armament. Realizing the necessity for maintaining armed forces adequate for national security, we are prepared to reduce or to increase our own armed forces in proportion to reductions or increases made by other countries. We avoid entering into alliances or entangling commitments but we believe in cooperative effort by peaceful and practicable means in support of the principles hereinbefore stated." - Secretary of State Cordell Hill  
(From Peace Action, August, 1937, Volume IV, No. 2)

Questions about this position

1. Would it be possible to stop the actual warfare by the method of mediation?
2. What effect would submission to Japan's demands have on the attitudes of the people of China? Would it encourage or discourage future aggressive acts anywhere else in the world?
3. Do you believe that there can be genuine reconciliation between Japan and China through mediation? What are the economic interests involved?
4. What is the probable cost of a settlement by mediation to China? to Japan?
5. What motives do you believe lie behind the interests of Germany, Italy, and the other nations in proposing terms for mediation?
6. What are the dangers in the method of mediation?
7. What are the values in the method of mediation?



C. The position that the United States must remain neutral

In a recent issue of Peace Action of the National Council of Prevention of War, it was stated:

"Imperialism of an economic type is by no means dead in the United States. The popular 'Open Door' policy is pure imperialism and has been used by the Western Powers for the ruthless exploitation of China in their own interests. Its supposed beneficence consists only in an understanding that none of the Thieves shall take advantage of the others. Many of the appeals to our sympathy for the Chinese are unfortunately traceable to selfish interests that resent and fear Japan's claim to an advantage over them. The American people must beware of letting their altruism run away again with their judgment. We understand Oriental conditions less than we understand conditions in Europe. To go to war with Japan in behalf of China would be a supreme disaster and the height of folly. To try to sell our goods to China when Japan controls the seas would be to assure our involvement in a war five thousand miles from home. The non-participation law, commonly called the 'neutrality act,' while not war-proof, is just the kind of legislation that we need in the present Asiatic situation, first to discourage war and secondly, if war comes, to prevent our involvement."

Six peace organizations have recently urged that the present neutrality law be applied (The National Council for Prevention of War, World Peaceways, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Emergency Peace Campaign, and Committee on Militarism in Education)

The Neutrality Act says that when the President finds that a state of war exists between two or more foreign states he shall issue a proclamation to this effect.

As a result, the following acts are automatically prohibited:

1. Export of 'arms, ammunition and implements of war' to belligerents.
2. Purchase or sale of securities or other obligations of belligerents.
3. Solicitation of war contributions.
4. Transport of implements of war in American vessels to belligerents.
5. Travel by Americans on belligerent vessels.
6. Arming of American merchantmen.

In addition, the President has authority, in his discretion, to prohibit:

1. Transport of any article or commodity on an American vessel to a belligerent state.
2. Export of any goods to a belligerent until after 'all right, title, and interest' has been transferred to a foreign government or representative.
3. Use of American ports as a basis of supply for belligerent warships
4. Use of such ports by foreign submarines and armed merchant ships except in accordance with regulations.

The United States has interests at stake in China. It is important to know what they are. They are set forth in the following figures:

1. Total number of American citizens in China: 7,780
2. Total number of citizens in the United States: 130,000,000
3. Total value of American investments in China: \$250,000,000
4. Total value of American investments in Japan: \$218,000,000

5. Total value of American property in United States: \$320,000,000,000
  6. The International Settlement - total area: 8.3 square miles; total inhabitants: 1,160,000; total number of foreigners: 35,000; total number of Americans: 2,017.
  7. Marines permanently in China: 1,000; additional marines sent since outbreak of war: 1,200. Total number of marines: 2,200 (greater than number of Americans in the International Settlement).
- (From Peace Action, October, 1937, Volume IV, No. 4)

There is considerable difference of opinion about the probable results of the application of the Neutrality Act. Mr. R. L. Buell of the Foreign Policy Association wrote on October 2:

"There are two fundamental defects in our Neutrality Act, as applied to the Orient. The first is that the application of this Act - far from keeping the United States out of war - would ultimately endanger our security. Should Japan succeed in its present campaign in China, its next objective may be the Philippines. Should the success of Japan in the Orient be paralleled by the success of Italy and Germany in other parts of the world, it is not at all fantastic to believe that ultimately these three dictatorships would converge upon Latin America. Lacking raw materials, the three great dictatorships today cannot successfully fight a great power. But if they succeed in annexing neighboring territory containing such materials, the task confronting the United States of defending the western hemisphere will become infinitely more onerous than if we today adopted a positive policy of cooperation to avert war.

"The Application of the Neutrality Act in the Orient would be fundamentally unjust. That act would forbid China to import munitions which it sorely needs, but would allow Japan to continue to buy raw materials, upon a cash-and-carry basis, which are essential to its military activities. If neutrality means anything, it means being fair to both parties; but the Neutrality Act of 1937 virtually makes the United States an ally of Japan. The American people deserve commendation if they are willing to forego war profits and 'national honor' to escape the danger of war; but if we go to the extent of foregoing our sense of justice and of becoming an ally of Japan out of fear of being attacked for supporting principles of international law and morality, we take a position unworthy of a great people."

Mr. Clark M. Eichelberger in a Radio Address, November 29, 1937 said:

"The idea of isolated neutrality is immoral in that it makes no distinction between the aggressor and the victim, in that it places its embargoes upon the nation that wants peace as well as upon the nation that wants war . . . the failure of the United States to join the League of Nations, and our insistence upon neutrality and isolation policy have contributed to the bankruptcy of the world's peace ideals."

Questions on this position

1. Is the present neutrality law actually "neutral" in the sense of impartiality between the belligerents in Asia? Is such neutrality possible?  
Which group of world powers are most aided by American Neutrality?
2. Can a Christian actually be neutral in the fact of aggression and flagrant violation of international law?



3. Who would suffer more from our Neutrality Law -- the aggressor or the victim of aggression?
4. Are there no alternatives except going to war or invoking the neutrality legislation?
5. If the present war in China should spread to Russia and thence to Germany and Europe, is our present Neutrality Law conclusive enough to prevent our being drawn into the conflict to protect our trade in oil, coal, steel, cotton, food, etc.
6. Does a pro-neutrality position have the ultimate effect of condoning war?
7. It is logical to supply a nation which is planning aggression with all the war making materials it needs up to the moment it invades another country and from then on to treat the victim exactly as we treat the better equipped aggressor?
8. What would be the effect on Japan materially and psychologically? on China?
9. Is the world Christian community weakened or strengthened by our advocating neutrality?
10. Which group of world powers is most aided by American neutrality?

#### D. Three forms of economic pressure

##### 1. International cooperation

There are many peace organizations favoring collective action between nations. Mr. Eichelberger, Director of the League of Nations Associations advocates, "cooperation between the government of the United States with other peace loving nations and the League of Nations in the hope that in most cases the moral unity of these forces will be sufficient to maintain peace . . . . . When moral persuasion is not sufficient to stop war, the United States in cooperation with other nations should, in the first place, make it as difficult as possible economically for the aggressor to continue to wage war; and second, deny him recognition of his conquest. The Brussels Conference was called specifically to attempt to find a peaceful solution of the Far Eastern difficulty. It failed because Japan would not attend the Conference, or listen to suggestions for peaceful settlement. Obviously, something stronger than moral persuasion is called for."

The aggressor nation has been defined by President Roosevelt as the nation that sends its troops outside its own territory to invade the territory of another. The League of Nations defines as aggressor the nation which refuses to submit to an armistice and a peaceful settlement of its dispute. Japan has violated both definitions. Her troops are hundreds of miles within the interior of China.

"The League of Nations and the Brussels Conference asked Japan and China to accept a peaceful solution of their dispute in accordance with the principles of the society of nations. China is willing, Japan refuses. Anyone who quibbles as to the aggressor in the Far East is simply being silly" (radio address, November 29, 1937)

"For the American people to say that they will make no distinction between the aggressor and the victim, is a policy that will deal another blow to the Kellogg Pact and the League Covenant . . . It will be an invitation to dictators to make war, because the United States would have served notice in advance that it would do nothing about it."

(radio broadcast, January 22, 1937)

The Catholic Association for International Peace writes:

"Sooner or later the American public must realize that it cannot remain indifferent to acts of international outlawry; that it must join with other nations in making some distinction in the treatment accorded to the guilty and the innocent."

Mr. E. Stanley Jones writes (Christian Century November 10, 1937):

"When we trade with Japan, we not merely play into the hands of the militarists, we actually strengthen those hands, put guns into them, and thus help in the subjugation of China. We become part and parcel of that invasion. Our hands that buy and sell are stained with the blood of Chinese. Sixty-five per cent of the export trade of Japan goes to Great Britain and America, so the major responsibility for the support of the war lies on these two countries. If they withdraw their economic support of this war, then it collapses."

Mr. Y. T. Wu writes in the Christian Century for October 13, 1937:

"A much more radical and positive attitude on the part of nations and individuals is called for. To begin with, public condemnation instead of being sporadic and fitful should be systematic and organized and should be given a definite educational content. Its aim should be not merely the attacking of an aggressor who is morally already downed, but propaganda in the best sense of the word on behalf of principles which humanity holds dear. In the same way, the boycott should be regarded not as a punishment or a reprisal, but as a pacific means which an indignant public uses to protest against cruelties and injustices which the unworthy rulers of a people perpetrate."

"But this positive attitude should go further. It should aim at a fundamental change of diplomatic policies of the nations. In spite of the seeming breakdown of the system of collective security, the need for collective security is daily growing more urgent. When the aggression in Manchuria went unchallenged, the conquest of Ethiopia followed. When the Spanish insurgents find it possible to carry on a war with open international support, highway robbery in the Far East becomes the order of the day. Such lawlessness is bound to spread if it is not checked, and it can be checked only by some system of collective security."

Mr. R. L. Buell on October 2, 1937 writes:

"A policy of isolation means a deepening of the present international chaos and anarchy, which may plunge the United States and the rest of the world into a new depression, and eventually into a new war. The belief, underlying the Neutrality Act, that there is safety in continental isolation is a pure delusion. As a result of electrically driven ships, radio, telephone and airplanes the world is literally shrivelling up . . . . .

"The theory of the Neutrality Act is to keep American ships out of the Mediterranean. This policy applied in the Orient is already undermining the principles of the Nine-Power treaty. No government which enunciates moral principles and then runs away when they are shamefully violated, can long command the respect of other nations or even of its own citizens."

The National Peace Conference states:

"It is not enough, however, to condemn resort to war. Nor is it enough to 'quarantine' military aggression. Economic and political justice is the only foundation upon which the structure of enduring peace can be built. Concurrent with the convening of the approaching Nine Power Conference, we believe that the United States should initiate steps looking toward economic adjustments to improve the standards of living of all peoples."

October 18, 1937

Questions on this position

1. What is the main objective of collective economic pressure on aggressors? is it to punish the aggressor or to stop the aggressive warfare?
2. What reasons are there for believing that economic pressure may prove an effective non-violent curb against war?
3. Should it be tried collectively? by one nation alone?
4. Are we as Christians morally responsible for the continuation of war if we render economic aid to the aggressor?
5. Is the principle of economic pressure compatible with the principles of economic and political justice between nations?
6. Do we sanction such methods in domestic and civil life?

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## 2. Consumer's boycott

Don't wear silk stockings say the women students on a College campus in New York state. Boycott silk from Japan. "Don't buy silk" is the slogan which will make possible, if anything will, the restoration of international law and security in the Far East", says the "Nation" with a practical list of means by which a consumer's boycott can be made effective. (October 2, 1937)



Raw silk is a major export item for Japan. It makes up about one seventh of Japan's exports. It constituted 55 - 60% of total American imports of Japanese goods in recent years. It furnished 92% of the American silk supply. The great bulk goes into wearing apparel, and especially into stockings. A boycott would therefore be peculiarly effective in crippling the Japanese economy.

The effect of a boycott on silk stockings will cause problems for the hosiery workers in the United States. Machinery can be adapted to lisle and rayon, but the full fashioned hosiery industry would have to compete with low priced hosiery and this would tend to necessitate a lowering of the wage rate.

The effect of a boycott on the Japanese workers would not be to deprive the workers of food (since Japan is not dependent on importing food for her supply) but would cause serious difficulties. Almost one out of every three farm families depend on the silk industry for their livelihood. (For fuller information see Far Eastern Survey. Institute of Pacific Relations - November 5, 1937)

Those who advocate the boycott believe it will accomplish the following:

- (a) Encourage governments to take action embargoing goods and credits to Japan which has been declared the aggressor and has violated The Nine Power Pact.
- (b) Shorten the war by preventing Japan's securing the necessary credits abroad to buy essential raw materials to carry on the war.
- (c) Since the united action of the governments is slow and uncertain, the consumer's boycott is an important medium of expression for public reaction against war.

In support of this position Dr. E. Stanley Jones says, "We ask every individual across the world, Christian and non-Christian, to pledge himself to withdraw economic relationships with Japan as long as this aggression continues, and to get as many as possible to do the same."

(Washington Post, September 22, 1937)

Sherwood Eddy says, "A growing number of us favor a movement to boycott Japanese trade."

(Christian Science Monitor, October 2, 1937)

Raymond L. Buell, President of the Foreign Policy Association, says, "In my opinion the popular boycott of Japanese goods is the first answer to Japanese aggression."

(Washington Post, October 2, 1937)

Rear-Admiral Richard E. Byrd, says, "The best method of preventing these nations from killing defenseless women and children is for the masses of the people of the world to boycott as far as is possible . . . that aggressive nation."

(Christian Century, September 29, 1937)



There is also opposition to this position. Mr. Libbey writes: "Let us consider the question of a Japanese boycott from the point of view of both its purpose and effect. What we want in the Orient is peace. The purpose of a boycott is not peace but moral condemnation of Japan. To carry on a successful boycott would require developing a spirit of hate toward Japan which would make war rather than peace easy. It would furthermore in all probability solidify the Japanese people back of the military leaders who are responsible for the aggression which we condemn. The effect of sanctions on the Italian people was just that. A boycott also diverts attention from the failures of the "Haves" to deal with the underlying causes of conflict."  
(From Peace Action, October 1937, Volume IV, No. 4)

The pacifist's position is against it. Reinhold Niebuhr in summarizing the thinking of the exponents of pacificism and neutrality says, "They say we cannot use the weapon of boycott because though it is itself non-violent, it may result in violence. The emphasis is in striking contrast to pacifist arguments of a few years ago, particularly during the Manchurian crisis, when it was affirmed in pacifist circles that the ultimate Christian distinction in political action was between violence and non-violence. Non-violence is now ruled out because it may result in violence."  
(Christian Century, November 10, 1937)

Mr. Nevin Sayre in the Christian Century for November 10, 1937 summarizes his arguments against it as follows:

- "1. The method of boycott against a whole nation is ethically indefensible.
2. That if Japan were now boycotted it would not slow down, but tend to speed up her aggression.
3. That in the United States a boycott would react with economic and moral harm.
4. That in the world at large the boycott would not lead to collective security, but would intensify economic derangement and stimulate armament and war . . . . "

Questions on this position

1. What is the chief objective of the boycotts, to condemn Japan or to stop the war by refusing to increase the sales abroad which help her buy war materials?
2. Could the consumer's boycott be made an effective means of protesting Japan's actions in China? Is there any other method open to the individual for forcing Japan to conclude an early peace?
3. Does the fact that Japan must import a large stock of its war materials give the boycott a special role in this conflict?
4. Is a Christian under obligation to apply his standards of ethics to his buying?
5. What effect might it have on the unity of the World Christian Community?

6. What effect does the continuation of war have on the unity of the world Christian community?
7. Will popular refusal to buy silk and other Japanese goods engender hatred in America against the Japanese people? Can this be avoided if responsible Christians get behind such a movement and lend their efforts to put it on a hate-war basis.
8. Can we deal with the injustices suffered by the "Have-Not" nations until we have first stopped that supreme injustice which a war of aggression, like the one in China, involves?
9. Are there other concrete ways by which those who are opposed to the way may help bring the suffering and destruction in China to a speedy end?

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### 3. Economic pressure through military force

Some say that the only factor which can have the slightest influence of any kind upon the international situation is the complete readiness to use force . . . if necessary, military force.

For nations to cooperate to enforce peace means risk, they say. The distinction must be made between lawlessness and a police force enlisted in the cause of law and order.

At the World Conference on Church, Community and State, in Oxford, July 1937 three positions were presented: one of those refusing to take part in war, one making the distinction of a just war, and one that the Christian must obey the political government as far as possible and normally must fight. It was said: "Some consider that Christians should participate only in such wars as are justifiable on the basis of international law.. They believe that in a sinful world the state has a duty, under God, to use force when law and order are threatened. Wars against transgressors of international agreements and pacts are comparable with police measures and Christians are obliged to participate in them."

Questions on this position

1. Is an international police force a feasibility?
2. Can law and force be brought into an effective partnership?
3. Can international law command respect without any organic unity between the nations?
4. What do nations consider constitutes being a "Great Power" and how can international order be maintained until this criteria is fundamentally changed?

### III. CRITERIA FOR ACTION

#### A. What equips a Christian to choose between these various courses of action?

What light comes to us from the current attitudes of Christian youth in Japan and China as they face this crisis? The following statement is part of the results of the corporate thinking of a group of national and local student secretaries in Shanghai:

We beseech our fellow-Christian students in other countries to do at least three things. First, we hope that they will be able to see the seriousness of the situation by an objective study and an unbiased investigation of the background of the Sino-Japanese conflict. We hope, moreover, that they will see the challenge of this conflict to the Christian faith, and will not regard it as some transient political issue which we Christians have nothing to do with. Secondly, we hope that our fellow-Christian students in other countries will use the result of their factual study as a basis for creating intelligent public opinion. In our effort to seek the truth, we must have the courage to accept that which is true and to expose that which is evil. Too much of the public opinion today is dominated by falsehood and misinformation. It is a Christian duty to open the eyes of the people and to sharpen their moral conscience. In the past the Christian Church has done a good deal in educating the public on issues of slavery, gladiatorial combats, prison reform, slum congestion, etc. Why cannot the same be done on questions of military aggression and the enforcement of peace? A vague desire for peace does not help matters in this day of re-armament and Fascist militarism. We must go at the root causes and try to undermine them by implementing our factual understanding with some concrete action.

The following quotations illustrate the mature Christian attitude of Chinese youth:

I am a loyal Chinese, and I hate the policy which Japan is carrying out in China with all my soul. But I do not hate the Japanese people, and come what may, I shall go on working for Christian brotherhood between our peoples.

I am willing to die for my country, but I shall never hate the Japanese. I am as loyal as any man in China, but my first loyalty is to Christ and His universal kingdom.

Christian educators are struggling to continue their constructive educational tasks, even in the midst of the conflict. Many of the Christian colleges are moving their staffs and students to new locations further inland. Dr. Herman Liu, of Shanghai University, at the very beginning of difficulties wrote as follows:

The educational frontier is more important than the military frontier. We will open our college in the French Concession or elsewhere.



1. Criteria as proposed by The National Student Council of the Y. W. C. A.

- (a) In any given situation there should be a gathering of facts on all sides of the question - essential in effective procedure is an attitude of deliberate analysis and intelligent planning at all times.
- (b) Action is a necessary part of education.
- (c) The goals and the values are the determining factors rather than popularity or large numbers.
- (d) The loss or gain in compromise is measured by the degree to which the values of the goal are preserved.
- (e) There must be singleness of purpose in devotion to the highest one can see in life.
- (f) There must be not only complete sincerity of motive and conviction for oneself but also the willingness to recognize the same sincerity in others.
- (g) The criteria for cooperative action is based upon identification with the highest Good as discovered in the light of Jesus' teaching.
- (h) The genius of the movement lies in the recognition of the unity which grows out of our differences. This means that minority opinion and action is essential to the whole movement but that such is not necessarily to be done in the name of the whole Association.

The discussion brought out that we are committed to the idea of unity in diversity which means a recognition of the place of the individual and group differences in the whole and which recognizes that unity is achieved only through those differences. While standing for our own conviction as a group or as an individual, we must recognize the right and responsibility of others to stand for their conviction as groups and individuals. Unity is won from this kind of mutual recognition of differences and trust of different groups.

How do these criteria apply to the possible positions in regard to war in China?

Can you make the distinction in their application between those matters which are a question of good ethics and those matters which are a question of profound Christian truth?

In raising money for the Far Eastern Student Emergency Fund the following statement was made by some of the committee members:



## 2. Attitude of the Far Eastern Student Emergency Fund Committee

As Christians and as members of the World's Student Christian Federation, we affirm our solidarity with Christian students in every land. We desire to bear one another's burdens and so fulfil the law of Christ. The tragic situation in the Far East calls for a new and deeper consciousness of our essential oneness in the Church of Christ and for new efforts to make that unity helpful and effective.

We recognize that as citizens of our several nations we share responsibility for the injustice of many international policies and for the inequitable distribution of the world's resources, which are basic causes of most acts of military aggression. We are conscious of God's judgment on us all. Our common involvement in evil, however, does not release us from the necessity of combating that evil. We are aware of the difficulties of Japan's position and the powerful world forces which have encouraged her present course of action, and of the fact that it is not unlike similar action taken in the past by the so-called Christian nations of the West. We are convinced, however, that such action undertaken by any nation cannot be justified. Regardless of expediency or final outcome, such action is to be condemned as rebellion against God's moral law, and history will show the operation of his judgment.

We seek to do all in our power to strengthen the forces making for peace through effective international cooperation. We do not understand it to be the role of Christian peacemakers to attempt to secure peace through national isolation and self-concern. We are deeply distressed by the tragic fate of the victims of the conflict and we express our heartfelt sympathy for all sufferers both in China and Japan. We remember both peoples before God in our loving prayer and reaffirm our common purpose with those in both countries who struggle to maintain and vindicate in one Body their faith in one Lord and in one God and Father of us all. Through our active support of the Far Eastern Student Emergency Fund, we seek to make clear both our sympathy and the common purpose which we share with our fellow-Christians in both countries.

## 3. Statement by The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America

"Because as Christians, we belong to both a national and to a super-national community, we have distinctive responsibilities." The Executive Committee of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America and a Committee of the Foreign Missions Conference have proposed the following action for the Church which is the visible expression of the super-national community to which Christians belong. They say:

1. The Church should align itself with the condemnation of the practices of war as described in the words of the recent World Conference in Oxford. "Wars, the occasions of war, and all situations which conceal the fact of conflict under the guise of outward peace, are events in a world to which the Church is charged to proclaim the Gospel of redemption. War involves compulsory enmity, diabolical outrage against human personality, and a wanton distortion of the truth. War is a particular demonstration of the power of sin in this world, and a defiance of the righteousness of God as revealed in Jesus Christ and Him crucified. No justification of war must be allowed to conceal or minimize this fact."

2. The Church should declare its horror that in these days any government should resort to war "declared" or "undeclared" as a means of obtaining political or economic advantage, or as a punitive measure. No claim that such has been the practice of nations in former times can be permitted to obscure the fact that practically all nations have solemnly pledged themselves to use only the reasonable ways of peaceful negotiation for the righting of wrongs. We may ask the nations of the world to unite in finding ways of establishing international morality and respect for treaty commitments. We should raise our voices in condemnation of ruthless slaughter of innocent men, women, and children with the purpose of terrorizing peoples into submission to alien governments.
3. The Church should lead in arousing public opinion to support the government in transforming a policy of irresponsible isolationism into one of active participation in the organizing of the political and economic forces of the world for the purpose of establishing justice and goodwill. In urging such a proposal, we repudiate the thought that it involves reliance upon military or naval force or such measures as are apt to lead to war. We strongly endorse the principles upon which right international relations may be maintained as described in the statement issued by the American Secretary of State on July 13. We view with gratitude the willingness of the American government to collaborate with the Advisory Committee of the Far East appointed by the League of Nations.
4. The Church should recognize the difficult position in which its members in Japan and China find themselves today. To strengthen the bonds of Christian fellowship throughout the world should be our earnest effort, and in these days we should not fail to demonstrate the reality of our sympathy with those suffering the terrors of war. To their support, Christians everywhere should devote all practical aid. In our prayers to God they should constantly be remembered.
5. The Church should understand more clearly the importance of its missionary enterprise and provide more adequately for its support. This is a time in which missions everywhere and especially in Japan and China should have the loyal and undiminished cooperation of every Christian. The failure of Christians to witness effectively throughout the world to the realities of their faith is one of the causes of our present distress. The Gospel is the word of God to suffering, distraught humanity. To witness to that Gospel now in every land with renewed devotion is a call to all the followers of Jesus Christ.
6. The Church must translate its testimony into deeds of mercy. The suffering cries of multitudes of children, of wounded men, of homeless refugees, of sick and hungry people must be answered not only by words of pity but by the self-sacrificing pouring out of the resources of love and service. The churches should make an effective appeal for relief funds to be administered through their own and other appropriate agencies.
7. The Church must testify to its faith in the reality of the Kingdom of God. In these days of grievous trouble we are not without hope, for we believe in God. To Him we turn in earnest prayer and in faith that the world belongs to God. "to believe in His power and love is not to escape from



reality but to stand upon the rock of the only certainty that is offered to men." There comes a call to the Church "to work for the manifestation of the new divine order which appeared in the Cross and Resurrection of the Son of God."

The Committee of Reference and Counsel of the Foreign Missions Conference and the Executive Committee of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America strongly commend these proposals to the churches for their serious consideration. They will become effective only when embodied in the purposes and actions of individual Christians and of the churches to which they belong.

Questions on this position

How can these proposals be made concrete in our own lives:

1. in active protest against war and its methods of mass killing
2. as a citizen of the United States in taking responsible part in urging the government to take action
3. in sending word to Christians in Japan and China of our belief in unity and fellowship
4. in meeting the needs of the war stricken generously and out of our own needs rather than our surplus
5. through prayer to strengthen the deeper convictions which we share as Christians

#### IV. MEDITATION

##### Call to Worship

Be ye not shaped to the pattern of this world, but be ye transformed for the service of the world by the renewing of your minds, that ye may prove what is the good and perfect will of God.

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Thy Kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven.

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##### The Teaching of Jesus

Let us examine our thinking, in the light of the teaching of Jesus Christ, so that we may renew our minds, and seek to know the good and perfect will of God.

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Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength and with all thy mind; And thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. - Lk. 10:27; Mt. 12:28 - 34

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I say unto you, Love your enemies, do good to them that hate you, bless them that curse you, pray for them that despitefully use you.

- Lk. 6:27 - 28

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Resist not the evil man, but whosoever smiteth thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also. - Mt. 5:39

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Be merciful, even as your Father is merciful, for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust. - Lk. 6:30; Mt. 5:45

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If ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive your trespasses. - Mt. 6:15

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So also did the prophets teach the will of God: He hath shewed thee, O man, what is good. And what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God? - Micah 6:8

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Seek good, and not evil, that ye may live . . . . Hate the evil, and love the good, and establish justice. - Amos 5:14

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### The Judgments of God in History

Let us meditate on the judgments of God in History. The God of Love challenges man's lack of love, and convicts all men of sin. The God of Love is therefore the Eternal Judge, - - of men and their motives and actions, both now and at all times.

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The Lord is a God of judgment. - Is. 30:18

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Thus saith the Lord, execute ye justice and righteousness, and deliver the spoiled out of the hand of the oppressor. - Jer. 22:3

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Thus saith the Lord, let not the wise man glory in his wisdom, neither let the mighty man glory in his might, let not the rich man glory in his riches; but let him that glorieth glory in this, that he understandeth and knoweth me, that I am the Lord which exercise loving-kindness, justice and righteousness in the earth, for in these things I delight, saith the Lord. - Jer. 9: 23, 24

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Woe unto them that join house to house, that lay field to field. - Is. 5:8

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Woe unto them that decree unrighteous decrees, . . . . to turn aside the needy from judgment, and to take away the right of the poor of my people, that widows may be their spoil, and that they may make the fatherless their prey. - Is. 10:1

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Be not deceived; God is not mocked: For whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap. - Gal. 6:7

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Woe to thee that spoilest, and thou wast not spoiled; and dealest treacherously, and they dealt not treacherously with thee. When thou hast ceased to spoil, thou shalt be spoiled, and when thou hast made an end to deal treacherously, they shall deal treacherously with thee.

- Is. 33:1

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Behold, their valiant ones cry without; the ambassadors of peace weep bitterly. The high ways lie waste, the wayfaring man ceaseth, he hath broken the covenant, he hath despoiled the cities, he regardeth not man.

- Is. 33:7

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### The Will of God

What is the Will of God for us today?

Our obedience to the Law of Love requires that we demand justice for our fellow-men.

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Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. And the question comes: Who is my neighbor?

Do we love, can we love, the children of the Chinese as much as our own children, our own family?

We know that we do not, and that we cannot, yet we pray for help that we may seek and strive for justice among the nations of the earth.

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Why even of yourselves judge ye not what is right?

- Lk. 12:57

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It is the will of God that our light should so shine before men, that they may see our good works and glorify our Father in Heaven.

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Therefore we pray for courage that we may boldly rebuke vice, constantly speak the truth, and patiently labour for the truth's sake.

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I truly am full of power, by the spirit of the Lord, and of judgment and of might, to declare unto Jacob his transgression, and to Israel his sin.

Micah 3:8

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· It is impossible but that offences come, but woe unto him through whom they come.  
- Ik. 17:1

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Take heed to yourselves; if thy brother sin, rebuke him; and if he repent, forgive him.

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Grant, O Lord, that we may both perceive and know what things we ought to do, and also may have grace and power faithfully to fulfil the same, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

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### Judgment

Judge not that ye be not judged.

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Let us remember that in the sight of God we have all sinned and gone astray. So that whatever we do in striving against sin, or in restraining wrongdoing, may be done in the spirit of humility, remembering the beam that is in our own eye.

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The disciples of Jesus have always cried against their enemies, "Lord, wilt thou that we call down fire from heaven and consume them?" And Jesus Christ turned and rebuked them, and rebukes us today.

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Let us therefore pray for humility, and for honesty in examining our own motives, and the motives and actions of our class and of our nation.

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Wherefore thou art without excuse, O man, whosoever thou art who judgest: for wherein thou judgest another, thou condemnest thyself; for thou that judgest doest the same thing. And we know that the judgment of God is according to truth against them that do such things. And thinkest thou this, O man, who judgest them that do such things, and doest the same, that thou shalt escape the judgment of God?  
- Rom. 2:1, 2

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Whence came wars, and whence came fighting among you? Come they not hence, even of your lusts that war in your members? Ye lust and have not, ye kill and covet, and cannot obtain, ye fight and war, ye have not because ye ask not. Ye ask and receive not because ye ask amiss.

- Jas. 4: 1, 2



Why doest thou judge thy brother? Or again, why doest thou set at naught thy brother? For we all shall stand before the judgment seat of God.

- Rom. 14:10

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O Lord, we know that the way of man is not in himself. It is not in man that walketh to direct his steps. Correct us, O Lord, with thy judgment and mercy.

- Jer. 10:23

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O God, our Father from whom all fatherhood in heaven and earth is named, graciously behold this thy family. Thou art ever merciful, and makest thy sun to rise on the just and on the unjust. But we have misused thy gifts, and marred thy work, and robbed one another of our daily bread. Help us to see and feel our share in the guilt of the world, and grant us thy grace to bring forth fruits worthy of repentance. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

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Hear us, Lord Jesus.

By thy recovering of sight to the blind,

Remove from us all prejudice.

By thy teaching on the Mount,

Teach us to hunger and thirst after righteousness.

By thy words to the Pharisees,

Give us courage to rebuke the wrong in high places.

By thy prayer upon the cross,

Teach us to love our enemies.

By thy cross and passion,

Help us to suffer for the truth's sake.

By the prayer thou hast given us,

Help us to do thy will upon earth.

By thy life and teaching,

Make us to love God before all things.

By thy life and teaching,

Make us to love our neighbor as ourself.

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Jesus, born to bring peace among men,  
denouncing the oppressor,  
setting at liberty them that are bound,  
Have mercy upon us.

Jesus, in whom the proud were scattered, and the mighty put down,  
giving good things to the hungry,  
exalting them of low degree,  
Have mercy upon us.

Jesus, in whom all the nations of the earth are one,  
in whom is neither bond nor free,  
brother of all,  
Have mercy upon us.

Jesus, who hast called us to the fellowship of Thy Kingdom,  
in whom is no respect of persons,  
who wilt know us by our fruits,  
Have mercy upon us.

Thou voice of Justice, who dost say to all nations:  
"Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these  
my brethren, ye have done it unto me."  
Have mercy upon us.

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